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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/039W			

-----27E822 221518Z /38

P 221508Z FEB 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5789
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00786

PARIS FOR PERLOW

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: WEEKEND NEGOTIATIONS FAIL TO SHAKE IMPASSE
ON GOVERNMENT

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REF: KIGALI 0784

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE WEEKEND BEGAN ON A HIGH NOTE WITH
RWANDAN PARTIES ANNOUNCING INTENTION TO ESTABLISH
TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS ON FEBRUARY 22, BUT ENDED IN
TRAGEDY WITH THE ASSASSINATION LATE NIGHT FEBRUARY 21
OF MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS GATABAZI (REFTEL). THE

IMPASSE STILL RELATES TO THE LIBERAL PARTY'S FAILURE TO COME UP WITH A SINGLE LIST OF DEPUTIES AND FIGHT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S MDR PARTY AGAINST HIS LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

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3. PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR RUHIGIRA CALLED ME FRIDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 18, TO REPORT THAT THE ALL PARTIES' MEETING HAD CONCLUDED WITH AN AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH THE INSTITUTIONS ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22. THE QUESTION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) LIST WAS STILL OUTSTANDING; HE HOPED THE DATELINE WOULD PRESS THE PL LEADERS TOWARDS COMPROMISE. THE QUESTION OF AN ALL-PARTY "SOLEMN DECLARATION" SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN DROPPED SO AS TO MOVE AHEAD ON INSTALLATION.

4. SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 19, RUHIGIRA, ALONG WITH PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL ADVISOR AMBASSADOR RENZAHU AND PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU STOPPED BY TO REVIEW THE BIDDING ON A PENDING COMPROMISE IN WHICH THE STATUS QUO WOULD BE MAINTAINED FOR PL PORTFOLIOS IN GOVERNMENT AND THE

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DEPUTIES LIST WOULD BE SPLIT FIVE FOR MUGENZI AND SIX FOR NDASINGWA. PROBLEM WAS THAT NDASINGWA HAD NOT YET FULLY AGREED TO THIS FORMULA. THE THREESOME HOPED THAT I COULD SPEAK TO BOTH PARTIES AND PRESS FOR AGREEMENT ALONG THOSE LINES. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE SAID HE HAD BEEN CONSULTING WITH FACTIONS IN HIS PARTY OVER CHOICE OF MINISTERS BUT WOULD NOT DIVULGE NAMES.

5. BOTH MUGENZI AND NDASINGWA WERE TAKEN UP WITH MBETINGS OF THEIR PARTY FACTIONS DURING THE AFTERNOON, BUT I MET MUGENZI FOR A LONG TALK AT THE BELGIAM AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION AND THEN CORRALLED THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO JOIN ME IN A STRONG PLEA TO NDASINGWA THAT HE ACCEPT A COMPROMISE THAT WOULD GET THE INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED. NDASINGWA SAID HE WAS WILLING BUT HIS "POLITICAL BACKGROUND" (I.E., TUTSI SUPPORTERS) WOULD NOT GIVE UP DEPUTY SEATS AND HE DID NOT KNOW IF HE COULD CONVINCE THEM.

6. MORNING FEBRUARY 20, PL MUGENZI STOPPED BY TO REPORT THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO COME TO AGREEMENT WITH NDASINGWA ON PL DEPUTIES LIST AND MINISTERIAL

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POSITIONS. NDASINGWA HAD AGREED TO A SEVEN-FOUR
SPLIT AND EVEN LISTED NAMES, BUT THIS WAS ACCEPTABLE
TO MUGENZI ONLY IF ALL PL MINISTERS WERE LEFT IN
PLACE. NDASINGWA (AND HIS TUTSI SUPPORTERS) AVIDLY
SEEK A CHANGE IN THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. I WENT
OVER NEGOTIATING OPTIONS WITH MUGENZI. HE LEFT WITH
SOME NEW ALTERNATIVES AND PROMISING NOT TO GO PUBLIC
AT THIS DELICATE STAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS. NDASINGWA

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WAS NOT AVAILABLE TO SEE ME LATER THAT DAY. LATER,
TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR TAMBWE GAVE ME A BRIEF ON HIS
EFFORTS WHICH WERE TO RECOMMENCE THE FOLLOWING
MORNING WITH VISITS TO THE RPF, WHOM HE THOUGHT TO BE
ENCOURAGING NDASINGWA TOWARD INFLEXIBILITY. IN
TAMBWE'S VIEW, MUGENZI HAD, FINALLY, SHOWN AS MUCH
FLEXIBILITY AS COULD BE EXPECTED. AMBASSADOR TAMBWE
ALSO FELT THAT GIVING THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE TO A PL
TUTSI AT THIS POINT IN TIME WOULD CREATE A PUBLIC
UPROAR.

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-----27E86B 221519Z /38

P 221508Z FEB 94

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5790
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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7. IN AN EFFORT TO FIRM UP HIS POLITICAL POSITION, THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE HELD A PUBLIC MEETING AT THE REGIONAL STADIUM IN NYAMIRAMBO ON FEBRUARY 20. ALTHOUGH THE MEETING WENT OFF QUITE WELL, THANKS TO UNAMIR AND GENDARMERIE PRESENCE, COUNTER-DEMONSTRATORS FROM THE MDR FACTIONS AND CDR PUT UP BARRICADES TO STOP TWAGIRAMUNGU PARTISANS AND TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE CHAOS TO PILLAGE HOUSES. SIX THUGS WERE KILLED BY IRATE VILLAGERS PROTECTING THEIR HOMES AND ANOTHER TWO WERE REPORTED KILLED IN A BICYCLE ACCIDENT (REFTEL).

8. MEETINGS CHAIRED BY PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU ON FEBRUARY 21 FAILED TO MOVE BEYOND THE IMPASSE WHICH MUGENZI DETAILED TO ME THE DAY BEFORE. TWAGIRAMUNGU MET WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR TWO HOURS AFTERNOON FEBRUARY 21 TO REVIEW PROGRESS ON FORMING A GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH THE TWO WERE REPORTEDLY CLOSE ON MOST DETAILS, THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY (MRND) ISSUED A STATEMENT IN KINYARWANDA OVER THE RADIO SHORTLY THEREAFTER SAYING THAT THE

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GOVERNMENT COULD NOT BE INSTALLED THE NEXT DAY AS ANTICIPATED.

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9. TENSIONS INHERENT IN THIS CONTINUING SAGA BROUGHT TRAGEDY LATE NIGHT FEBRUARY 21 WHEN SMALL ARMS FIRE WAS HEARD IN THE VALLEY BELOW EMBASSY RESIDENCES ON KACYIRU AND KIMIHURURA (REFTEL). WITHIN HALF AN HOUR, I RECEIVED CALLS FROM MINISTER NDASINGWA, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU AND PRESIDENTIAL

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ADVISOR RENZAHU, ALL INFORMING ME THAT THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE PSD PARTY, FELICIEN GATABAZI, HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED. THIS SMALL ARMS FIRE WAS FOLLOWED BY NUMEROUS GRENADE EXPLOSIONS BUT NO OTHER CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED. MORNING OF FEBRUARY 22, DEMONSTRATIONS BLOCKED THE ROAD TO BUTARE AND THE ROAD TO THE AIRPORT, BUT UNAMIR AND THE GENDARMERIE WERE OUT AND HAD CLEARED MAIN ARTERIES IN KIGALI BY THE OPENING OF BUSINESS. EAC MET OOB FEBRUARY 22 TO REVIEW WEEKEND'S EVENTS. WARDEN MESSAGES HAVE URGED CAUTION IN TOWN AND NO UPCOUNTRY TRAVEL. ALL AMERICANS ARE SAFE.

10. COMMENT: MY EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES AND I MET LATER MORNING FEBRUARY 22 TO ASSESS THE DAMAGE. WE WERE AT A LOSS TO EXPLAIN WHO MIGHT HAVE ARRANGED MINISTER GATABAZI'S MURDER, OR WHY. FROM OUR WESTERN PERSPECTIVE, THE TIMING WAS HORRIBLY WRONG: THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL HAD ON FRIDAY ISSUED AN EDICT CONDEMNING VIOLENCE IN KIGALI; THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, STILL IN TOWN, HAD JUST GIVEN STRONGEST POSSIBLE ENCOURAGEMENT TO RESOLUTION OF RWANDAN DIFFERENCES; THE POLITICAL IMPASSE REMAINED BUT WAS AT A POINT OF RESOLUTION. NOBODY IN THE RWANDAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM HAS EVIDENT GAIN IN THE DEMISE OF THIS POPULAR MINISTER. HIS DEATH WILL CERTAINLY HEIGHTEN DIVISIONS WITHIN THE BODY POLITIC AND DELAY COMPROMISES THAT COULD LEAD TO SETTING UP A GOVERNMENT. BUT THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND VIOLENCE OVER THE WEEKEND PROVE HOW DESPERATELY THIS COUNTRY NEEDS A FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT. MOST OF THE RWANDAN

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POLITICAL ELITE ARE IN SHOCK OVER THIS BRUTAL
MURDER. URGENT APPEALS TO REASON AND RECONCILIATION
MIGHT ACTUALLY SINK IN, IN THIS PERIOD OF SHOCK.
WESTERN AMBASSADORS HAVE ASKED TO MEET WITH THE
SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, BOOH
BOOH, AND THEN WITH THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, TO
DETERMINE HOW BEST TO PUSH THIS ANGUISHED COUNTRY
BACK INTO A PEACE PROCESS. END COMMENT.

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11. POSTSCRIPT: ALTHOUGH KIGALI IS DEADLY CALM, ITS

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USUALLY BUSTLING STREETS ALMOST DESERTED, WE HAVE
JUST LEARNED THAT THE PARTY PRESIDENT OF THE CDR WAS
KILLED BY A CROWD IN BUTARE AROUND 12:00 NOON. THIS
MAY WELL GENERATE INTRA-PARTY CLASHES IN URBAN
AREAS. WE ARE TELLING AMERICANS TO STAY AT HOME
TONIGHT. END POSTSCRIPT. RAWSON

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